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CAPITALISM DOOMS CIVILIZATION

Today we hear primarily two opposite arguments about the future of capitalism. Two arguments that are basically wrong. One position states that capitalism is progressive, has great vitality, and is the only sane working system devised by man. The other position informs us that we are doomed because of the atomic bomb. Neither argument touches the fundamental day to day working factors of the capitalist system that make for destruction, for wars, unemployment, disease, misery and starvation.

When history reaches the point where its mode of production has outlived its usefulness for social needs and progress this economic structure has the ability to carry with it, in destruction, even the new progressive factors that the genius of man has given birth to. When Chattel Slavery reached the point where it was no longer productive, no longer profitable; when capitalism (for example) in the United States revealed its superiority in the exploitation of labor and its productive capacity, this dying system of slavery carried with it to the grave of history structures which were favorable to man's well being. The new system takes many of its good features and adds them to its own, but some features inevitably are passed up, and lost in the struggle of the new system to survive and in its hate for the old system.

The real reason underlying the factors that make for capitalism as a brake upon social progress is the accumulation of the factors that underlie its economic motion. The contradiction between the individual capitalist appropriation and socialization of production. Its productive forces have long ago outstripped this straightjacket and play havoc with the best laid plans of all those who try to patch up the capitalist system and all those who have the best of intentions toward mankind but lack proper understanding of the driving force of social destruction which they defend for one reason or the other. These antagonisms which flow from this basic contradiction are the factors that doom civilization. Unless the workers and their allies can right the wrongs in time.

OVERPRODUCTION AND DEPRESSION

The most important factor in peace time to get rid of the overproduction, to destroy the surplus the wages of the workers cannot buy back, is the periodic cycle of depressions that have plagued capitalism since its inception, and which grows in magnitude and in depth with each passing crisis. The period of prosperity (for the rich) is followed by a crisis, which in turn ushers in a depression. The duration of the depression is determined by the time necessary to dispose of the surplus and to REORGANIZE production on a higher level, which reduces the individual cost of the single item while it increases the mass of surplus value, (rent, interest, and profits). This reorganization can be overcome by new markets, internally and internationally, or by war production for destruction.

We cannot eliminate the cyclic development of production and reorganization, but a society based upon production for use and for the good of man can eliminate overproduction and depression and the inevitable waste and destruction that goes with it.

Crisis, depressions and imperialist wars are an inherent part of this lack of economic planning under capitalist economy. It is a case where the individual industrial unit is organized and social production as a whole is unorganized. Where planning of small segments of society is always defeated by the anarchy of production as a whole, i.e., the production for profits and markets instead of the production for use and mankind. The exploitation of man by man instead of the full organization of mankind in cooperation to further the conquest and struggle against nature.

#### OVERPRODUCTION AND IMPERIALIST WAR

The outstanding example of this destructive force of the capitalist mode of production is the second world war. The wheels of destruction started with the crisis of 1929 and developed into the depression of 1929 to 1939. The depression was not overcome by the normal internal expansion forces of developing capitalism. Instead it was "overcome" by the outbreak of war when Fascist Germany invaded Poland in 1939 and started the destruction that the world will feel for many years to come.

The war destruction alone amounts to untold billions in material wealth and over 40 million men, women and children killed throughout the world. This is one of the effects of a system of production based upon private appropriation, capitalist appropriation and socialized production. This is one of the effects of overproduction, crisis and depression and the struggle of the leading imperialists for a redivision of the earth, for living space, for their negative exploiting economy. The United States spent over 300 billion alone for war destruction. It spent a few million in the same period for social welfare and social security. The same story can be repeated for every other capitalist nation on earth.

Was this war necessary to defend our way of life against a totalitarian way of life? Was this war necessary to defend ourselves against attack? Was this war necessary to defend ourselves against a new barbarism? This is what we were told and this is what the millions fought for. But this is not what the war was fought for by the real rulers of society. The exploited majority fought for just this. But the exploiting minority which control society and the state fought for different reasons. The capitalists fought for a redivision of the earth, for their right to world domination and exploitation against the contending bloc of imperialists. Fascism was not defeated. Exploitation was not abolished. The same causes of world war two are here today and are growing like a festering cancer. Nothing basically was solved. Only gigantic destruction of men and material was accomplished.

True we obtained a breathing spell because the "democratic" imperialists and the Soviet Union defeated the Axis fascist powers. But this victory does not give the victors the right to continue the same old mistakes and prepare the ground for the same old depression and war with fascism and all its horror. But our breathing spell is not due to the "democratic" imperialists or to Stalinism. It is a breathing spell in spite of them. It is a "victory" due to the pressure of the masses, the millions of exploited who made possible the victories against fascism, only to have the real victory snatched from their hands by the handful of monopolists and imperialists, when the military defeat of fascism was complete.

But why? Why this war destruction every decade or so, always on an expanding scale of destruction and men and material? If we return to the problem of capitalist production, that is, capitalist overproduction we can make understanding out of this war insanity.

In the developing period of capitalism the production forces were growing and the overproduction was not so great; therefore the means at the war mongers' disposal for destruction were less than today and there was less in destruction and national debt. But with the constant growth of the productive forces; with production for profits instead of social use, this over accumulation becomes a gigantic snow ball gathering momentum as it goes along.

Therefore in war the unemployed are absorbed in production and in the army and in war death, so the overproduction of means of production can be put in motion--not by social needs, not by construction--but by war destruction of billions and billions in material and 40 million in deaths. The depression is "overcome" not by social advancement but by imperialist war destruction.

The capitalist system has reached the point of production that long ago the problem of not enough was eliminated, and the problem of too much plagues the rulers of society. Today the problem of capitalism is what to do with the productive capacity so long as the masses are paid so little in wages that they can only buy back a small part of production; and the accumulation of productive forces are so great that they have to shut down every so often to allow destruction and waste of the surplus before the wheels of industry can be turned again.

Under Roosevelt, in the depression, Wallace as Secretary of Commerce carried through the New Deal policy of destruction, of killing pigs, of plowing under crops, of paying farmers for acres they don't plant, while unemployment and hunger run rampant throughout the country and the world.

Capitalism has many methods and ways of destroying the overproduction beside the most important method of war destruction. In peace time many other methods are used to get rid of the surpluses, to siphon it out of the economic system to hold off the crisis, depression and inevitable war. Instead of saving because there is not enough of the good things the capitalist planners must figure out schemes of using

up as much surplus as possible. Let us consider peace time methods of destruction under capitalism.

### THE WAR DEBT

Since we were speaking of the war destruction as the major method of getting rid of the surplus production let us consider the war debt. The war debt plus some other internal debts of the nation amount to about 300 billion dollars. Many people in high places point to this and cry with alarm and say we must pay it off as quickly as possible. But this school of thought lives in the past. They would be correct if capitalism was in its infancy in this country and we had a scarcity of capital and owed this debt to other nations and capitalists in other countries. As it is the capitalist system suffers from overproduction and this debt is an internal debt. We owe the bulk of it to the small hand full of financiers and industrialists.

If this debt were paid back by some miracle all of a sudden, it would not only create a panic, but would upset the apple cart and the system would spiral toward a crisis. The big capitalists have this money as surplus capital; they don't know what to do with it. The safest and best investment is government bonds at 4% interest. In the first place they have placed on ice their surplus capital. In the second place it earns interest. In the third place it siphons off taxes to be paid them as interest and uses up additional surpluses being accumulated.

Don't be so foolish as to think that the bulk of the taxes comes from the working class. It does not. It only passes through the workers' hands. If taxes are boosted 20 cents on the dollar or reduced 20 cents on the dollar (not the so-called 20% cut now talked about which is a dribble) in the long run the workers will get 20% more in wages or a 20% cut in wages. That is, 20% of their earning capacity. This is not true with the unorganized and unskilled workers. They are in no position to put up a fight and they have to cough up more taxes than the well organized and skilled workers who can demand raises and who can protect their pay envelope better in inflation and deflation.

### TAXES AND OVERPRODUCTION

Let us simplify and reduce the problem of taxes and money to the problem of commodity production in order to see how the increase in taxes in the decay stage is not only needed to prop up disintegration, but also as a means to get rid of the surplus. In order for the capitalist to make a profit and to keep the industries running, which also means to keep workers employed, it is necessary to produce at a certain level. If production falls below this level of the profitable use of the means of production, profits disappear and unemployment increases to alarming proportions.

However, we know that the wages of the employed will not buy back what is produced. Therefore, when markets do not absorb the necessary production, when war is not yet at hand to destroy the wealth, then

the state must step in and help the anarchy as a whole of production even though the individual factory is organized. The state has many means of using up this surplus and of restrictive regulations and one of these means is taxes. The capitalist state cannot cure this ailment but it can ease the pain for the exploiters.

So the Executive Committee figure out the production capacity of the plants; the amount of consumption and foreign markets available. They find a big discrepancy, especially considering the productive level necessary for profits, rent and interest. Lets assume they have 35% of the commodities left over. This they don't know how to get rid of for the productive capacity of the country as a whole. Even with curtailment and relief and dole there is still too much. They find that since the workers will already be paid for efficiency and production; this 35% additional commodities now costs nothing extra. Because by keeping up this certain level of production a profit was obtained, not a swollen war profit, but a "fair" profit, not even considering this additional 35%. To get rid of this is the question and in return bring in more money for the exploiters.

If they would boost taxes, say 20% (as they did on the eve of the second world war) this would bring in lots of revenue, use up most of this surplus. Of course they see to it that the workers get about 20% more in wages, more or less, according to their organized strength and skill. The government just takes it away from the workers in the form of taxes. In reality the workers are not paying these taxes, they are only secondary agents and a means of using up the surplus through government expenditure.

Hitler's fascist plan was this very scheme on a grand scale with a dictatorship dressing. The whole scheme reduces itself to national dictatorial planning and regulation, keeping total production at a level that will insure profits for the exploiters and the state in devious methods taking up the surplus commodities so OVERPRODUCTION will not accumulate too rapidly. This inevitably means war under a system of the exploitation of man by man; but under system for use it can mean plenty for all.

Another way of taking up the vast accumulation of production and using it for much useless bureaucratic measures, is the general city, country, and state taxes. If they just taxed for needs it would not be so bad, but the taxes are mounting in the municipalities by leaps and bounds. And if this taxes was used for health, education, sanitation, social insurance, and civic beauty it would not be so bad, but the bulk of each dollar taxed goes to semi-useless and downright useless expenditures, including a growing bureaucracy and waste.

In addition to your income tax, your state tax, your property tax, your social security tax, your state sales tax, your state auto tax and the general tax on all commodities by the national and state governments, the municipalities are now duplicating this tax with local phone tax, sales tax, alcoholic tax, gas tax, water tax, earning tax, hotel room tax, juke box tax, cigarette tax, capitation tax (the right to breathe),

garbage collection tax, business and service tax, and many others, not to speak of the clever schemes they have in floating bonds.

Don't forget, while there are only a little over 16,000 municipalities and 3,000 counties taxing you beside the state and national government, there are in addition 155,000 units of local government throughout the nation taxing the people for any and everything. In the Chicago metropolitan area alone, there are over 1,600 local government tax collecting units levying and collecting taxes.

The lack of social planning, regional planning and national planning makes most of this a waste, even where it is collected for a good cause. But it is great for the system because it helps destroy the tremendous accumulation which the system must get rid of if industry's wheels are to keep turning.

#### BURIED GOLD

You remember in the depression we had over 30 billion in gold buried in Ft. Knox and other places. Now we have much more. This government monopoly on gold, in the interest of the financialists of the nation, and the burying of this gold has taken off the market a vast amount of surplus capital that, if left on the open market, or if suddenly thrown on the open market would toboggan the system into a deep crisis.

You can bet your last dollar, if the financialists could use this vast amount of liquid capital either internally or internationally in safe and sound investments where interest could be obtained, they would have this surplus on the market in a minute.

Instead of using this vast surplus capital for social development it is stored away, buried, lying idle while the earth is crying out for vast social projects that could make this earth a paradise for all.

#### ADVERTISING

Even such an item as advertising is touched by the disease of capitalist destruction and waste. You know that what the large firms list as advertising can be deducted from their income tax reports. So it has become the fashion of the day to dump untold amounts in this form of tax evasion. Their reasoning is quite logical under the given first premise. Why should we turn over this capital to the Washington government; the bureaucrats will waste it. Let's spend it on advertising. It produces such freaks as the radio contests where the winner walks home with everything except a rocket ship to the moon, and sometimes I expect to hear that this too will be given away if one will send in 25 words or less telling the people why they love what obviously isn't any good for them. There are a thousand little avenues where the surplus wealth is sucked off, so the wheels of industry may continue to turn without too rapid an accumulation and, eventually, overproduction.



## THE MILITARY EXPENDITURES

Another avenue that is wasteful to the concept of the old school of scarcity is the growing government bureaucracy from city to state to the national capital, with a vast increase in the military might in peace time. But for the new school who believe in destruction of this "too much" wealth, this is good.

The government expenditures and the bureaucracy and the military force is an avenue that consumes a vast amount. In so far as social good or social welfare is concerned it is negative. It has no positive social value in a sane society based upon human rights above property rights. But for a society that places property rights of the private owners, of the few, above human rights; for a society based upon the exploitation of man by man, based upon racial and national hate and class antagonisms this waste and destruction is logical.

The surplus from every war is the surplus that in the main must be destroyed. This war surplus must not get back on the market because it will compete with the productive machines of the private capitalist owners. Above all the monopolists buy out the billions of war time government investments in productive plants. First they buy it to prevent the smaller or independent groups from competing with their own productive machines; secondly they buy these plants to remove or control their productive capacity for the limited needs of monopoly based on scarcity and price fixing; and last they buy it for their own productive needs in case their own plant capacity needs expansion. They buy them for a song from the government and can afford to let them deteriorate because their monopoly price will more than take care of the loss together with tax returns when necessary.

## NEW INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

Another form of waste and destruction is the monopolist control of new processes and new inventions and new discoveries. Much of this scientific development in every field of human needs is kept off the market until old productive forces are used up and until an expanding market for one reason or the other can absorb this new development. Monopoly capitalism is the greatest brake upon the further development of science, of society and of mankind as a whole. When they do let loose science and production it is for war destruction. As a by-product of this war destruction society gets crumbs of the development. What benefit society gains is more than lost in the war destruction.

Amidst the plenty of the world's productive forces there is the greatest mass misery, disease and starvation the earth has yet seen as the aftermath of the second world war. Instead of unleashing these world productive forces and planning on a world scale for abundance, the imperialists of the United States, England, France and the lesser powers dish out relief and charity. They do not hand out relief to all who need it. They only hand it out and give loans for rehabilitation in those trouble spots where the people refuse to lie down quietly and

starve to death. In those trouble spots where the people try to throw off the feudal and capitalist exploiters, relief and loans to smash the peasants' revolts, to defeat the proletarian revolutions, to smash the social revolutions, is given out in the name of good will to men and peace on earth.

To use the surplus, the overproduction, not for further social development, but to hold in check the liberation of the masses from exploitation, is another form of waste and destruction.

### PRODUCTION AND ABUNDANCE

Yes, capitalism dooms civilization through its inability to solve the problem of the fetters upon its productive forces. Through its inability to solve the problem of mankind with abundance, which it has the power and capacity to produce, while it lives amidst poverty and starvation on a world scale. The atomic bomb and the utilization of atomic energy is not a new independent problem that has thrust itself upon the horizon as liberal scientists and other muddle headed liberal social thinkers contend. The atomic energy development is merely another technological development of capitalism in the long chain of technological developments, that is in the same straight-jacket as productive abundance is as a whole.

Only the elimination of the basic contradictions of capitalism, and its solution, can solve the atomic bomb question and the other problems and transform poverty into abundance for all. The material means are at hand. We have the raw material, the machines and the man power that can develop and produce unlimited quantities. We must have the will to power.

TRUMAN'S POLICYPAVES WAY FOR FASCISM

It would be foolish and unscientific to claim that the Truman policy is the same as fascism. There is considerable difference. But the cause of this difference, as well as the trend, must be analyzed. Likewise, the similarity must be understood.

The best way to obtain an accurate comparison and to understand the underlying forces at work is to present the basic factors of each, that is, Fascist Germany under Hitler and Democratic United States under Truman, and find out what is black and what is white.

Before Germany was defeated many liberals, who should know better, wrote volumes claiming that the economy of Germany was no longer capitalist, and instead there were no differences between the Soviet Union and Fascist Germany. Because both Russia and Germany were state dictatorships, these muddle-heads confused form with content. Today in the reverse, the ultra-lefts are doing the same thing.

It may be well to recall that during the Spanish Civil War the Marxists pointed out that the struggle between the People's Front and the Fascists had the internal dynamics of the People's Front paving the way for Fascism. The Marxists explained and acted as an independent third working class force in a struggle on two fronts. The Marxists pointed out that support of the middle force, the bourgeois democrats, the People's Front, inevitably led to Fascism. History proved the Marxists' analysis, in the negative, again. Likewise, in the United States the support of bourgeois democracy, in the long run, paves the way for the revival of Fascism.

First we will consider the fundamental economic and super-structure factors of the problem and see how similar the two systems are:

	<u>Truman U.S.</u>	<u>Hitler Germany</u>
1- Commodity Production.....	same	same
2- Wage Labor.....	same	same
3- Production of surplus value...	same	same
4- Production for markets.....	same	same
5- Socialized production & capitalist appropriation...	same	same
6- Monopolies (finance capitalism) dominate life of nation...	same	same
7- State Regulation in War.....	same	same
8- State Regulation in Peace.....	Difference in degree	
9- State Aid to international trade.....	Difference in degree	
10-Increased race hatred.....	Difference in degree	
11-Revolution and Communism as main enemy.....	Difference in degree	
12-Suppress Communists at home.....	Difference in degree	
13-Slash the Trade Unions.....	Difference in degree	

	<u>Truman U.S.</u>	<u>Hitler Germany</u>
14-State.....	Bourgeois democracy	Fascism
15-Political Parties.....	Two Party System	One Party
16-Freedom of Expression.....	Subtle suppression	Open suppression
17-Unemployment.....	Little unemployment due to war scarcity	Little Unemployment due to war prod- uction

More factors could be added, but the above list is sufficient to give us a rounded picture of the problem. In the first place, when we consider the first seven fundamental economic factors we find no difference.

When we consider the next six factors dealing with political factors and the state we find only a DIFFERENCE IN DEGREE, and not a difference in kind.

The last four factors listed reveal an important difference in FORM, but not a difference in kind.

The first eight factors are the same because both countries are nations with the capitalist mode of production and the same fundamental laws of economy, political and social factors which govern the life of man. But the difference in degree and form of the next nine factors mainly dealing with the political factors is due to the difference in economic might of the two nations.

To be more exact both United States and Germany were considered the two most powerful capitalist nations before the second world war. But Germany was a defeated imperialist nation (first world war) with Versailles restriction, surrounded by dismembered, countless European national barriers, and hemmed in by other leading powers, (Great Britain, France Italy, The Soviet Union) and above all, this powerful but restricted productive force existed in the decay stage of capitalism. The United States can register a positive for all the above negative factors listed for Germany, except the last one.

It is the difference in internal economic strength of capitalist nations in the decay stage, that enables the working class and lower middle class to fight back and hold more or less democratic rights against the monopolists in the struggle of bourgeois democracy vs. the open (Fascist) dictatorship.

Before the right shift of the Truman policy, which paves the way for Fascism, can complete its course (no matter who the individual president or political party is, that is in power) the following factors must be materialized:

The relative strong economic position of the United States internally and internationally, for any number of reasons, must be considerably weakened. The economic base of concessions to the lower middle class and the upper working class must be eliminated in the quicksand of depression, or revolutionary upheavals internationally which will tax the economic strength in destructive suppression of the peoples' movements.

A polarization of class forces, by a process of zig-zags will crystallize a militant revolutionary working class left wing, and a rabid (American form) Fascist right wing at the expense of the middle parties.

A final struggle of monopoly capital to suppress completely (as in Germany, Italy, Spain, etc.) the working class movement, the communists and the revolutionary groups, as well as the liberals.

In this open class war, in this intensified class struggle, in this civil war--if the workers and oppressed masses are not strong enough to take over power--then, then through a POLITICAL revolution (regardless of the form of the revolution) the dictatorship party will assume power.

Truman's policy has helped the rabid (Churchill) international band of anti-communists. Truman's policy has played into the hands of the reactionaries. Truman's policy is right-center, not center nor right, as American politics will go. Truman's policy is paving the way for Fascism, slowly today, (maybe fast from your personal concept) slowly historically, but a process that will move faster as the tempo of class struggle increases with the coming, inevitable depression. The depression will come after war scarcities are restocked, after the retail stores' shelves are full, after the building (both private and commercial) needs are glutted, after war torn rehabilitation is on the road to self-sufficiency for relief in each war torn country, after production has reached the STATE OF OVERPRODUCTION. Then look for a crisis and the inevitably following depression. A depression of greater depth and duration than the 1929-1939 crisis-depression.

The depression capitalist economists predict before this year is out, is not the one we are talking about. The depression they are talking about will only be a post-war production and price readjustment, to get out of the stage of war time scarcities and price boom and to settle down to "normal" production of a negative world market. The crisis and depression we are talking about will arrive after the 1948 elections, but most likely before the 1952 elections. This crisis and depression we will deal with extensively in coming issues.

J E W I S H   N A T I O N A L I S M  
O R   S O C I A L   R E V O L U T I O N

The announcement by the British "Labor" government, that His Majesty's armed forces are to be withdrawn from Palestine, appears almost simultaneously with headlines announcing another seizure by His Majesty's Navy of another refugee ship and the murder of another unarmed refugee fleeing Europe. The history of 30 years of British rule in Palestine under the so-called League of Nations mandate, after its capture from the old Turkish Ottoman empire, is written with the blood of thousands of Arab and Jewish workers and peasants.

Palestine occupies a unique geographical position in the schema of the British Empire. It is adjacent to the British controlled Suez Canal, on the road to India and Britain's Far-Eastern colonies. It is a vital link in the life-line of empire for the British ruling class. It occupies a central position in the Arab world, thereby automatically a pivot in any pan-Arab nationalist movement. It is on the receiving end of the great oil pipe lines drawing black gold from the bowels of Arabia for American and British imperialism: Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. By itself Palestine is almost an economic non-entity in the chain of capitalist economy. The political conflicts raging over and within Palestine bring out in bold relief every contradiction of fellahin economy of the Near-East and the inability of world capitalism, even its most liberal democratic wing, to solve even the most minute national and democratic problem left as a hang-over from the feudalism of the Turk sultans.

The real meaning of the British mandate and the so-called humanitarian Balfour Declaration is the introduction of the British policy of "divide and conquer" into the Arabian peninsula. This is a replica of British democracy as practiced in Ireland, India, South Africa, etc., etc. The League of Nations was under British hegemony. It was a cloak of the British ruling class, through the instrumentality of the mandates, for the redivision of the earth after world war I. With all of its messianic promises to the Jewish masses, the Zionist movement is nothing but a tool of British imperialism in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of a mandate over Palestine. Prior to the mandate, the British ruling class had promised the Arabs national self-determination in order to gain their support against the German Kaiser, and get them to desert the armies of the Ottoman empire. After Britain carried through this successful maneuver which broke the back of the military machine of the Central Powers in the Near-East, it proceeded to make a deal with the Jewish nationalists in order to develop a force to counteract any possibility of the emergence of any independent force in Arabia that would challenge the power of British imperialism. For thirty years British agents have been successful in encouraging two diametrically opposed nationalisms. The British ruling class was quick to seize the opportunity of utilizing the Zionist "dream" in order to introduce an element of conflict, so that British domination would be supreme in the Near-East. In nearby Syria the French were able to maintain control for many years by fostering

religious wars between the Christians and the Moslem Arabs. In India Britain was successful by encouraging wars between the Hindus and the Moslems.

Today the pound has been replaced by the dollar in the dealing with Arab feudal chiefs. Today the British dominated League of Nations has been replaced by the American dominated United Nations in the cloaking of imperialist schemes. British imperialism is the junior partner of the American capitalist class in its dealings with Arab sheiks and monarchs. The Zionist movement expressed shock when the world became aware of the agreement for oil rights reached between Roosevelt and king Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia including the grant of millions of dollars and the agreement to limit Zionist expansion. The Zionists are caught in the contradiction of being cast off as a tool of British imperialism and being unable to switch their old master for American imperialism in spite of all their wooing. American imperialism is willing to give them limited support, but not at the expense of losing the friendship of the Ibn-Sauds who make it possible for them to bring refined oil from Arabia to New York cheaper than they can obtain it from the fields of Texas, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania. The Ibn-Sauds and El Hassinis are opposed to Zionist expansion because its introduction of capitalist economic norms on the Arabian desert undermines the feudal relations obtaining there.

Palestine occupies 10,000 square miles. It has a population of a little over 2 millions, two thirds of which is Arab. There are 700,000 Jewish settlers in Palestine. Palestine is primarily an agricultural country. Since biblical times Palestine has been an arid desert, visited only by those attending religious relics and by nomadic Arabian tribes. Whatever agriculture it boasts had to be established at a terrific expense. The desert had to be reclaimed by modern technology - irrigation, reforestation and arduous soil conservation (washing salt out of the earth).

Without the support of millions of dollars collected in the ghettos throughout the world this would have been impossible. With the exception of certain minerals, Palestine is practically devoid of natural resources. Some modern factories have been built, but for the products of basic industries, Palestine has to depend on the rest of the world. Palestine has to import almost everything, including the present world inflation.

Relatively speaking the Jewish population enjoys a higher standard of living than the Arabs. This is possible because of two factors: 1- world support of their colonization efforts; 2- superior economy to that of feudalism. Disease and pestilence are rampant amongst the Arab population, who enjoy an average life-span of 35 years. Education sanitation and medical facilities are preactically unknown in the Arab villages. Whatever funds have been raised by the world Zionist movement have been expended only in the Jewish settlements. Only the Arabs who live in close proximity to the Jewish villages enjoy some of the higher standard of living. There are two trade union centers in Palestine; the small poorly organized Arab trade unions are dominated by the Arab nationalists. The Jewish trade unions exclude Arabs and are

under the hegemony of the Pola Zion party - social-democratic wing of Zionism. Those Arabs that work for Jewish employers enjoy the same wages as their Jewish fellow workers. It is in these areas where Jewish and Arab workers work together, that there is the least conflict - where the British agents have been least successful in fomenting Arab-Jewish outbreaks. One of the most potent attempts at the unification of the Jewish and Arab masses in Palestine against their own nationalist leaders and their imperialist masters was the raid on the British prison at Acre which freed Arab as well as Jewish political prisoners.

The war and the post-war period has aggravated anti-semitism and has increased the amount of declassed Jews in Europe. The failure of successful social revolution in Europe has increased the nationalist tendencies amongst these masses. Their resentment of their treatment has been canalized by the Zionists into a mass movement toward emigration to Palestine. Revolutionists and Marxists have always upheld the right of people to emigrate to any country of their choosing. While we have always fought for this right of asylum, we must make it clear that we do not mean that this includes Palestine alone. We must raise the question of the right of asylum in the United States, in the Soviet Union - in any country whose leaders are now leading noble debates in the United Nation's Assembly about the rights of the D.P.'s. The right of asylum for Jewish and other displaced persons is by no means a solution to their problem. Zionism does not even begin to answer the question of anti-semitism under capitalism. It should be clear to even the blindest of the Zionists that anti-semitism was not the exclusive product of Hitler. Even these people, who did not hesitate to prostitute themselves in behalf of the "People's War" conducted by American and British imperialism, should now have their eyes open to the fact that anti-semitism has been revived by all the capitalist states as a means to keep alive their system. No matter what corner of the earth the Zionists will be successful in leading a portion of the Jewish masses, they will find anti-semitism as long as the capitalist system remains.

Marxists do not deny any people the right to defend themselves against military dictatorship of an imperialist power. Such defense can best be carried on by mass action. The moderate and the revisionist wings of the Zionists in Palestine have directed their blows only against the personnel of the British Mandate government, and have refrained from any military action against the Arab population, except in defense against British sponsored Arab pogroms. Terrorism, acts of individual violence, as a policy solves nothing. One assassinated governor can always be replaced by another one. This policy too often results in the sacrifice of the best and bravest elements of any revolutionary force. The effect of arms in the hands of the Jewish masses would be much greater if they allied themselves with the Arab masses and directed them at their common enemy, the British ruling class and their satellites, the Arab and Jewish bosses. Effective unification of the armed forces of the people in Palestine must be built on a solid economic and political base. New forms of organization must transcend the existing political and trade union organizations to break the barrier of nationalist domination, especially in the trade unions. Councils of workers and peasants including Arabs and Jews must supplant the existing organizations, from the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency down to the trade union organizations. The support of such a policy



in Palestine has nothing in common with the aspirations of the world Zionist movement. The revolutionists must break up the effort of the Zionist movement to canalize the resentment of the Jewish masses to anti-semitism into a movement to migrate away from their troubles. Revolutionists must encourage a policy amongst the Jewish workers and lower middle class to align themselves with the revolutionary labor movement in order to stay and fight not only anti-semitism but the system that is nurturing it: capitalism. Fascism is by no means dead. It is being given a new lease on life by American and British imperialism. The struggle against anti-semitism and the Zionist charlatans is only part of the struggle against Fascism.

The readiness with which the bulk of the Zionist leadership accepts the plan to partition Palestine shows their complete bankruptcy. Even from the most rigid racial lines, it is completely impossible to draw a map dividing Palestine. The population of the country is pretty well intermingled. There is no large area which is either predominantly Jewish or Arab. Palestine by itself is far from self-sufficient. How could any state, self-sufficient even to the extent of taking care of its own machinery, exist in two segments within this small country? Division of the country would only intensify the efforts of the extreme nationalists amongst both groups. The only workable solution of Palestine's problem rests within the orbit of the entire Near-East. And this national problem of the Near-East cannot be solved without the overthrow of the entire imperialist regime. The feudal Arab overlords and their partners, the compradore Jewish bourgeoisie, can do nothing towards unifying this area and solving any of the social problems existing there. The leadership of the colonial masses of peasants must come from the industrial proletariat. Social revolution in the Near-East must have as an immediate objective the establishment of a Soviet United States of the Near-East.

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